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But, although we cannot regard this system as the ultimatum of intellectual philosophy, yet is the science deeply indebted to Cousin, for the new light bestowed by his genius, and the attraction with which he has clothed a subject, often unjustly and ignorantly depreciated.

‘La philosophie,’ says Madame de Staël, ‘est la beauté de la pensée ; elle atteste la dignité de l’homme, qui peut s’occuper de l’éternel et de l’invisible, quoique tout ce qu’il y a de grossier dans sa nature l’en éloigne.’

We are not among the number of those, who regard the labors of the metaphysician,—even when unsuccessful,—as altogether wasted. The evils of a speculative and visionary mind are not those which it behoves us, in the present day, especially to guard against. The calculations of interest and the division of labor are every where chaining down men’s minds to a point, and we rejoice that there are spirits of higher range abroad, though their flight be in the clouds, whose call may rouse us to a sense of the grand features and broad principles of humanity.*

ART. III.—*Life and Times of Richard Baxter.*

The Life and Times of the Rev. Richard Baxter, with a Critical Examination of his Writings. By REV. WILLIAM ORME, author of the *Life of JOHN OWEN, D. D.*, *Bibliotheca Biblica*, &c. In two volumes. Boston. Crocker and Brewster. 1831.

It is not our intention to enter into any extended examination of this work ; the general character of Baxter being, as we may suppose, already familiar to most of our readers. We shall only advert to a few leading features in the history of this eminent man, whose eventful life, and the noble principles by which it was actuated, might furnish copious subjects for reflection. Both these are exhibited by the author of the volumes before us, who has shown how well he was qualified for his task, by the fidelity and good judgment, with which he has executed

* Having stated in a former article on the same subject,—N. A. R. vol. xxix. p. 67.—that we should probably resume it in a future No. it may be proper to add here, that the present article is by a different writer.

it ; more especially, by an exemplary candor and apparent freedom from prejudice rarely found in historians of events, which enlist the passions, and array men in parties. The reputation Mr. Orme obtained by his former works will not, we think, be impaired by this ; though in consequence of his lamented death immediately upon its completion, it comes before the world as a posthumous publication.

We may venture to say, that no period of civil history is more remarkable for events or characters, for men and things, than were the 'Times of Richard Baxter.' His life, which somewhat exceeded seventy-six years, embraced the whole of that term, so memorable in the annals of England, commencing with the closing of the reign of King James and the accession of his ill-fated son, Charles I., and ending with 'the glorious Revolution,' as all Dissenters at least love to call it, in 1688, under William and Mary. The date of Baxter's birth, was Nov. 1615, and of his death, Dec. 1691. Of these, or of any great events passing before him, Baxter was not made to be a spectator merely. His genius and temper, the unquenchable ardor of his spirit, his acuteness of penetration, his ready eloquence, his industry, which neither sickness nor imprisonment seemed to interrupt, his glowing zeal, and, above all, his 'love of souls,' actuating and animating the whole man, disposed him to take a most lively interest in such affairs. And as the political changes of that day were essentially connected with the church, and indeed were, for the most part, proposed or urged in the name of, and for the sake of religion, Baxter could bear his part in them without violating the character, which amidst all his engagements and all his troubles he never forgot, which he deemed it his duty and his glory ever to maintain, that of a faithful minister of Christ. Accordingly, when the violence of the royalists in his neighborhood, and some experience of personal danger, had made it unsafe for him to continue with his beloved flock at Kidderminster, we find him, first, at court, preaching moderation to the King, whose want of it with the madness of the people cost him his head ; then, as chaplain with the parliamentary army, whose cause he preferred, but whose excesses he fearlessly condemned ; now, contending with its Antinomian officers in theological warfare, and refuting their fanaticism with his well known metaphysical subtilty, and then earnestly and tenderly exhorting them to look to their souls ; not fearing to call Cromwell an usurper, telling him even to his face,

that the ancient monarchy had been a blessing, and asking of him how England had forfeited it ; and yet not refusing him his just credit before the people, for the good he had done. Again, we find him after the usurper's death uniting with his Presbyterian brethren, some of the most eminent ministers of the times, of whom were Calamy, Manton, and Bates, to bring back the king ; and finally, when the monarchy was settled and Episcopacy restored, laboring with all the resources of his learning, eloquence, and scholastic skill, to obtain what,—however by some desired and by others opposed, could have proved but a temporary expedient, fruitful, like most other such schemes, of troubles,—an agreement in church government with the Episcopalians and Presbyterians.

During these several changes, in which, and more especially the last, we mean the conference at Savoy, Baxter bore a very prominent part, his conduct, according to the opinion of his biographer, does credit to his conscientiousness rather than to his wisdom. ‘He acted with the Parliament,’ says the author, ‘but maintained the rights of the king ; he enjoyed the benefits of the Protectorate, but spoke and reasoned against the Protector. The craft and duplicity of Cromwell he hated and exposed ; but the gross dissimulation and heartless indifference of Charles to every thing except his own gratification, it was long before he could be persuaded to believe.’ Mr. Orme here, as throughout his work, adopts the views naturally taken by Dissenters in England, and which, with some modifications, would probably be adopted by the advocates of liberty, civil and religious, every where. We of this favored country, who have never known the burdens and disqualifications suffered by Nonconformists in Great Britain, may be incompetent judges of the nature of the evil and of the opposition with which it should be resisted. For ourselves, we can perfectly understand Baxter's preference of Charles, notwithstanding his vices, or rather, we should say, of the monarchy with the return of good order, to Cromwell with his ‘greasy hat’ and hypocritical prayers, or to the Commonwealth and Sir Harry Vane, with his antinomian and fanatical followers. At the same time, we doubt not in the least the correctness of the opinion expressed by Mr. Orme, on the course pursued by Baxter in these critical times, ‘that abstract principles and refined distinctions, in these, as in some other matters, influenced his judgment rather than plain matters of fact ; that speculations often distracted his mind

and fettered his conduct, while another man would have formed his opinion on a few obvious principles and facts, and have done, both as a subject and a christian, all that circumstances and the scriptures required.'

But what is most remarkable, and should never certainly be overlooked in any view we can take of the character of Baxter, is his uniform piety and spirituality. However engaged in public affairs, whatever may have been his circumstances, employments, dangers, or fears, he never forgot his business and duty as a minister of the gospel. To this, his chosen vocation, all things else were subservient. Whether at Kidderminster, with his own people, or in London and at Court, with the army among soldiers, or in prison with his fellow prisoners, he was the same devoted minister, incessantly laboring by his lips, his writings, and his life, to persuade men to be reconciled to God. His industry must have been wonderful; nor less so his power of abstraction. Some of his largest and ablest works were produced amidst scenes, which, if they did not secularize, would have totally discouraged most men from such pursuits. And while, in his daily intercourse with people of all characters, he was adding to his stock of experience and knowledge of mankind; recording too, as his diary shows, with great accuracy, passing events, he was composing those books of controversy and practical religion, which have come down to us in folios; some of which, had he lived earlier, would have placed him among the fathers of the church. It was during the latter part of his chaplainship in the army, and chiefly, as he mentions in his preface, under confinement by severe illness, that he wrote his 'Aphorisms on Justification,' and his 'Everlasting Rest.' 'His disputes with the Antinomian soldiers,' says Mr. Orme, 'led to his Aphorisms, while his labors and afflictions produced his Meditations on the 'Saint's Everlasting Rest.' We can hardly agree with this author, that they betray no marks of haste or crudeness. Still less can we say with the eloquent Barrow, however competent a judge, that, 'of the writings of Baxter, his controversial ones were seldom confuted, and his practical ones never mended.' For undeniably, they are diffuse to vexation, and are full of the metaphysical subtilties of his day. Yet with all their faults they are the productions of a noble genius, inspired by the eloquence of a holy soul, and probably have done more in their day, than any other uninspired writings, to make men wise to salvation.

Notwithstanding his learning and skill in disputation, of which last he was too fond, Baxter enjoyed few advantages of early instruction. Indeed, his education, both religious and secular, was exceedingly neglected. His constitution was originally weak; his health from childhood was poor; so that he was but little at school, and never at a university. In answering a letter of Anthony Wood, who inquired whether he was an Oxonian, he replied with much simplicity and dignity, 'As to myself, my faults are no disgrace to any university, for I was of none. I have little but what I had out of books, and considerable helps from country tutors. Weakness and pain helped me to study how to die, and that set me on studying how to live. Beginning with necessities, I proceeded by degrees, and am now going to see that, for which I have lived and studied.'

One of the most remarkable features in this history, distinct from the personal character of Baxter, is the exhibition it gives of the church and of the general state of religion in the reign of the first Charles, before the times of the Commonwealth. We are aware of the prejudices, to which all men of a professedly religious party are exposed, and are willing to admit, that the statements of Dissenters in relation to Episcopacy are to be taken with some charitable allowance. The sense of grievances inflicted by an ecclesiastical establishment naturally quickens in the sufferers a discernment of its abuses; and not seldom does the just resentment of these degenerate into hatred and uncharitableness. We fear, that this danger has not been sufficiently guarded against by Dissenters in England at the present day. But it is to be remembered, that, at the period of which Baxter writes, he was himself a Conformist. His family was of the church, and all his early associations and feelings were in favor of Episcopacy. Yet, in speaking of his own neighborhood and while he was yet a youth, in his father's house, in Shropshire, he complains,

'That he had not the benefit of Christian instruction, or of the public preaching of the gospel; that there was little preaching of any kind, and that little calculated to injure rather than to benefit.

'In High Ercall, there were four readers in the course of six years; all of them ignorant, and two of them immoral men. At Eaton-Constantine, there was a reader of eighty years of age, Sir William Rogers, who never preached; yet he had two livings, twenty miles apart from each other. His sight failing, he repeated the prayers without book, but to read the lessons he employed

a common laborer one year, a tailor another ; and, at last, his own son, the best stage-player and gamester in all the country, got orders and supplied one of his places. Within a few miles round, were nearly a dozen more ministers of the same description : poor, ignorant readers, and most of them of dissolute lives.* Three or four, who were of a different character, though all Conformists, were the objects of popular derision and hatred, as Puritans. When such was the character of the priests, we need not wonder that the people were profligate, and despisers of them that were good. The greater part of the Lord's day was spent by the inhabitants of the village in dancing round a may-pole, near Mr. Baxter's door, to the no small distress and disturbance of the family.'

At a late period, or about 1640, writing of the state of religion in Worcestershire, where he resided, his own parish of Kidderminster being in that county, he laments the extreme ignorance and profligacy, that were prevalent. With the exception of some ministers and their hearers, who for their greater strictness were stigmatized as Puritans or fanatics, he said that 'the people seemed to mind nothing seriously but the body and the world.'

'They went to church and could answer the parson in responses, and thence to dinner, and thence to play. They never prayed in their families ; but some of them on going to bed would say over the creed, or the Lord's Prayer ; and some of them the Hail Mary,—Ave Maria !—They read not the scriptures nor any good book or catechism. Few of them indeed could read or had a Bible.'

The majority of this class he represents as merely worldly men, intent on their business or interest. Of the rest, most were swearers, and drunkards, utter strangers to the power of religion. In the same connexion he complains of the low standard, not only of preaching, but of character among the clergy ; with whom, notwithstanding eminent exceptions, there were found too many idle, ignorant, and unprincipled.

* In his Third Defence of the Cause of Peace, Baxter gives the names of all the individuals above referred to, with additional circumstances of a disgraceful nature in the history of each. The statement is a very shocking one, even in the most mitigated form in which we could present it ; but justice to Baxter and to his account of the times, required that the facts should not be withheld. They give a deplorable view of the state of the period, and show, very powerfully, the necessity of some of the measures which were pursued at a future period for the purification of the church.

In contrasting this deplorable condition of the church at that period with the changes that followed, Mr. Orme remarks ;

‘ Whatever may be said or thought of the personal religion of Cromwell, the influence of his measures and government on the state of religion in the country was highly favorable. I have quoted the strong language of Baxter, respecting the sects and the divisions of the period, and the pointed censures which he pronounces on many of the leading men. It is right I should quote what he says about the improved state of religion during the Commonwealth. What a contrast does the following picture present, to the dismal representation of the condition of religion during the early days of Baxter, which have been given in the first part of this work !

“ I do not believe that ever England had so able and faithful a ministry since it was a nation, as it hath at this day ; and I fear that few nations on earth, if any, have the like. Sure I am, the change is so great within these twelve years, that it is one of the greatest joys that ever I had in the world to behold it. O, how many congregations are now plainly and frequently taught, that lived then in great obscurity ! How many able, faithful men are there now in a county, in comparison of what were then ! How graciously hath God prospered the studies of many young men that were little children in the beginning of the late troubles, so that they now cloud the most of their seniors ! How many miles would I have gone twenty years ago, and less, to have heard one of those ancient reverend divines, whose congregations are now grown thin, and their parts esteemed mean, by reason of the notable improvements of their juniors !”

Baxter’s moderation in his controversial opinions is well known. This quality pervaded all his speculations, and is the more remarkable, and certainly not the less honorable, when we consider the ardor of his mind and his susceptible temper. In his views of public affairs, as we have seen, it led him to differ in some respects from both the great parties, into which the kingdom was divided, cordially approving neither, sometimes condemning both, and in turn, as is the usual fortune of conciliators, censured by all. In religion, it made him averse to the extremes of Calvinism and Arminianism ; and he labored to unite them. The system he adopted, and has maintained in his works, may be considered as a middle path between the two. His moderation was not relished by the advocates of the orthodox school, especially the Independents, who were jealous of the

slightest departure from their form of sound words ; and all the influence of Baxter's character, and incontestable superiority to most of them,—for we except such as Howe,—could not avail with them to protect him from the charge of heresy. The system he maintained, has been called Baxterianism, and they who have adopted it, have been called, either for reproach or honor, Baxterians.

Amidst his fervent zeal and his unwearied labors to persuade men to be reconciled to God, there was not wanting a shrewd, and some would think, though we do not profess ourselves of the number, a wise management of his influence. He says in his own account of his preaching, that he was accustomed, even in his most earnest exhortations, to introduce something too learned or abstruse for his people to comprehend, to the end, that they might be sensible of their ignorance, and of the great need in which they stood of a well-qualified ministry.

It was the fate of Baxter, as it has been of multitudes before and after him, to be calumniated. Indeed, when we consider the times in which he lived, and the violent prejudices and passions which all must have inevitably encountered, who took any part in public affairs, it would be surprising if Baxter, who was always in the midst of the warfare, should have escaped. Besides the imputation of heresy, and of other things less innocent, he was charged with covetousness, and specially with urging oppressive bargains with his booksellers. As the accusation is of itself singular, and his mode of refuting it may show to our readers something of the mystery of book-making in those days, when folios rather than duodecimos were in question, we shall set down his own account of the matter. Authors, who have books to make, and printers who have books to publish, will not fail to find their own peculiar interest in the matter ; while it may give to the curious reader some idea of the extent, to which religious works were circulated at that period.

Having adverted, says Mr. Orme, to several of the false charges, which had been made against him, he thus proceeds. The date of the letter is 1678.

‘ But now comes a new trial ; my sufferings are my crimes. My bookseller, Nevil Symmonds, is broken, and it is reported that I am the cause, by the excessive rates that I took for my books of him ; and a great dean, whom I much value, foretold that I would undo him. Of all the crimes in the world, I least expected to be accused of covetousness. Satan being the master

of this design to hinder the success of my writings when I am dead, it is part of my warfare, under Christ, to resist him. I tell you, therefore, truly, all my covenants and dealings with booksellers to this day.

‘When I first ventured upon the publication of my thoughts, I knew nothing of the art of booksellers. I did, as an act of mere kindness, offer my book called ‘*The Saint’s Rest*,’ to Thomas Underhill and Francis Tyton, to print, leaving the matter of profit, without any covenants, to their ingenuity. They gave me ten pounds for the first impression, and ten pounds a piece, that is twenty pounds for every after impression, till 1665. I had, in the mean time, altered the book, by the addition of divers sheets. Mr. Underhill died; his wife became poor. Mr. Tyton had losses by the fire in 1666. They never gave, nor offered me a farthing for any impression after that, nor so much as one of the books; but I was fain out of my own purse to buy all that I gave to any friends, or poor person that asked it.

‘This loosening me from Mr. Tyton, Mr. Symmonds stepped in and told me that Mr. Tyton said he never got three-pence by me, and brought witness. Hereupon I used Mr. Symmonds only. When I lived at Kidderminster, some had defamed me of a covetous getting of many hundred pounds by the booksellers. I had, till then, taken of Mr. Underhill, Mr. Tyton, and Mr. Symmonds, for all, save the ‘*Saint’s Rest*,’ the fifteenth book, which usually I gave away; but if any thing for second impressions were due, I had little in money from them, but in such books as I wanted at their rates. But when this report of my great gain came abroad, I took notice of it in print, and told them I intended to take more hereafter: and ever since I took the fifteenth book for myself and friends, and eighteen-pence more for every ream of the other fourteen, which I destined to the poor. With this, while I was at Kidderminster, I bought Bibles, to give to all the poor families; and I got three hundred or four hundred pounds, which I destined all to charitable uses. At last, at London, it increased to eight hundred and thirty pounds, which, delivering to a worthy friend, he put it into the hands of Sir Robert Viner, with a hundred pounds of my wife’s, where it lieth, settled on a charitable use after my death, as from the first I resolved. If it fails, I cannot help it. I never received more of any bookseller than the fifteenth book, and this eighteen-pence a ream. And if, for after impressions, I had more of those fifteenths than I gave away, I took about two third parts of the common price of the bookseller, or little more, and oft less; and sometimes I paid myself for the printing many hundreds to give away; and sometimes I bought them of the bookseller above my number, and

sometimes the gain was my own necessary maintenance; but I resolved never to lay up a groat of it for any but the poor.

‘Now, sir, my own condition is this: Of my patrimony or small inheritance I never took a penny to myself, my poor kindred needing much more. I am fifteen or sixteen years divested of all ecclesiastical maintenance. I never had any church or lecture that I received wages from, but, within these three or four years, much against my disposition, I am put to take money of the bounty of special particular friends; my wife’s estate being never my property, nor much more than half our yearly expense. If, then, it be any way unfit for me to receive such a proportion as aforesaid, as the fruit of my own long and hard labor, for my necessary and charitable uses; and if they that never took pains for it have more right than I, when every laborer is master of his own, or if I may not take some part with them, I know not the reason of any of this. Men grudge not a cobbler, or a tailor, or any day-laborer, for living on his labors; and why an ejected Minister of Christ, giving freely five parts to a bookseller, may not take the sixth to himself, or to the poor, I know not. But what is the thought or word of man?’

‘Dr. Bates now tells me, that for his book, called the ‘Divine Harmony,’ he had above a hundred pounds, yet reserving the power for the future to himself; for divers impressions of the Saint’s Rest, almost twice as big, I have not had a farthing: for no book have I had more than the fifteenth book to myself and friends, and the eighteen pence a ream for the poor and works of charity, which the devil so hateth, that I find it a matter past my power, to give my own to any good use; he so robs me of it, or maketh men call it a scandalous thing. Verily, since I devoted all to God, I have found it harder to give it when I do my best, than to get it: though I submit of late to him partly upon charity, and am so far from laying up a groat, that (though I hate debt) I am long in debt.’*

The extent of these transactions with booksellers, as well as the unwearied industry and fertility of Baxter, may at once be seen by a reference to the list of his books, making in all, one hundred and sixty-eight distinct treatises or works. Some of these were considerable volumes. In the chronological catalogue appended to these memoirs, we observe, that the largest proportion were originally published in quarto or octavo; while three or four, as the ‘Christian Directory’ and the ‘Catholic Theology,’ the one printed in 1675, the other in 1673, in the

*Appendix to Baxter’s Own Life, No. xii.

interval only of two years,* were in folio. When we consider the troublesome scenes, in which he was continually involved; his constant bodily infirmities, and the demands on his time and thoughts, while serving in the army as chaplain and while engaged in the protracted conference at Savoy; his repeated confinements in prison, where he complains of being deprived of his books;—when we add to this the extent of reading displayed in his writings; the correspondence to which they frequently led, and the diversity of subjects they embrace, it is impossible not to admire the indefatigable application and resources of his mind. Something of this wonder will be diminished, as is common upon a near examination of all seeming prodigies, by considering, that he first preached a great part of all that he published. His practical works, as we now have them in four volumes folio, were for the most part sermons; and he, that at the present day should print what he preaches, as did the worthies of those times, Howe and Manton and Henry, might soon take rank, as far as bulk and volume are concerned, with the Fathers of the Church. But with all these deductions, which we make out of regard to the truth of things, we agree with Mr. Orme, that ‘it is indeed marvellous, that a man, who was no less marked for the number and variety of his bodily infirmities than for the multiplicity of his ministerial avocations, and who seemed to have lived only in the atmosphere of a printing-office, should under all these disadvantages have produced volumes with the ease, that other men issue tracts.’

To those, who have never acquainted themselves with the extent of Baxter’s productions, and have thought of him only, as it must be confessed the melancholy portraits usually affixed to his books represent him, as a demure, broken-hearted, joyless man, it will probably be surprising to learn, that he was a Poet. Mr. Montgomery, in his recent collection, has given him a place among the Christian Psalmists of England, and speaks of a little volume of ‘Poetical Fragments,’ published under a very quaint title in 1681, as ‘inestimable for its piety and far above mediocrity in many passages for its poetry.’ Mr. Orme also mentions, that he left, fully prepared for the press, an entire poetical version or paraphrase of the Psalms of David,

*Among his works is a folio in Latin of more than nine hundred pages.

with some other hymns, which were published after his death in 1692, by his friend and first biographer, Matthew Sylvester.

The courage and intrepidity of Baxter were apparent in all his conduct. There was that within him, which, had he lived a century before, would have defied not imprisonment only, but torture and death. He had frequent calls for these virtues and he never shrunk from the trial. We have already adverted to his interview with Cromwell, whom he always regarded as an usurper,* and when summoned to answer before Jeffries for his refusal to conform, he proved how little he feared the face of man. That infamous Judge, probably the worst that ever disgraced the bench of justice, was resolved, in defiance of all evidence and equity, to make Baxter, whom he

* As this interview is a remarkable passage in the life of Baxter, and sets in a strong light the character of Cromwell as well as his own, we shall here extract it, as copied by Mr. Orme from Sylvester.

“A little while after, Cromwell sent to speak with me, and when I came, in presence of only three of his chief men,† he began a long and tedious speech to me of God’s Providence in the change of the government, and how God had owned it, and what great things had been done at home, and abroad, in the peace with Spain and Holland, &c. When he had wearied us all with speaking thus slowly about an hour, I told him it was too great condescension to acquaint me so fully with all these matters, which were above me; but I told him that we took our ancient monarchy to be a blessing, and not an evil to the land; and humbly craved his patience that I might ask him how England had ever forfeited that blessing, and unto whom that forfeiture was made? I was fain to speak of the form of government only, for it had lately been made treason, by law, to speak for the person of the king.

“Upon the question, he was awakened into some passion, and then told me it was no forfeiture, but God had changed it as pleased Him; and then he let fly at the parliament, which thwarted him; and especially by name at four or five of those members who were my chief acquaintances, whom I presumed to defend against his passion: and thus four or five hours were spent.

“A few days after he sent for me again, to hear my judgment about liberty of conscience, which he pretended to be most zealous for, before almost all his privy council; where, after another slow tedious speech of his, I told him a little of my judgment. And when two of his company had spun out a great deal more of the time in such like tedious, but more ignorant speeches, some four or five hours being spent, I told

† Lord Broghill, Lambert, and Thurlow, were the individuals present on this occasion. Lambert fell asleep during Cromwell’s speech.—*Baxter’s Penitent Confessions*, p. 25.

hated for his influence, an example to the Presbyterians, whom he affected to despise. It is said, that Jeffries would have inflicted corporal punishment on Baxter, but that his brethren on the Bench would not accede to it. He loaded him, however, with all manner of abuse, calling him the ‘old blockhead, the unthankful villain, that would not conform, who had poisoned the world with his *linsey-woolsey* doctrine,’—because, we presume, of his preaching to the carpet-makers of Kidderminster,—‘a conceited, stubborn, fanatical dog, a snivelling Presbyterian, a Kidderminster bishop;’ and finally when Baxter began to speak, he thus reviled him, ‘Richard, Richard, dost thou think we’ll hear thee poison the whole court; Richard, thou art an old fellow, an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart; and every one as full of sedition, I might say treason, as an egg is full of meat. Hadst thou been whipt out of thy writing trade forty years ago, it had been happy.’ ‘I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting to see what will become of their Don, and a doctor of your party,’—looking to Dr. Bates,—‘at your elbow, but by the grace of God, I’ll crush you all.’

Such was the conduct of Jeffries towards a man, whose only offence was the publication of a ‘Paraphrase on the New-Testament, some passages from which were described as seditious.’ For this a heavy fine was inflicted, with imprisonment till he paid it, and he was bound to his good behaviour for seven years. He sustained his trial with an admirable composure, only replying to the outrageous abuse of the Judge, ‘I am not concerned to answer such stuff; but am ready to produce my writings for the confutation of all this; and my life and conversation are known to many in this nation.’

We scarcely know a name, that has come down to us in history, loaded with deeper execration than this of Lord

him, that if he would be at the labor to read it, I could tell him more of my mind in writing in two sheets, than in that way of speaking in many days; and that I had a paper on the subject by me, written for a friend, which, if he would peruse, and allow for the change of the person, he would know my sense. He received the paper afterwards, but I scarcely believe he ever read it; for I saw that what he learned must be from himself; being more disposed to speak many hours than to hear one; and little heeding what another said, when he had spoken himself.”†

Jeffries. His character is stamped with a peculiar infamy, when we consider the place he filled, and his brutal abuse of his high authority. He was notorious on the bench for a total disregard for the decencies of his station, for the rights of the bar and of the accused, and for the claims of justice. 'His progress through some of the western counties,' says his biographer, 'might have been tracked by the blood,* which he so lavishly shed; and anecdotes of his cruelties have been preserved, which strike the reader with indignant horror.'† 'To do him justice,' says another, 'he had a great deal of baseness in his nature, having a particular delight and relish in such things as give horror to the rest of mankind.' And, we may add, his meanness and cowardice in disgrace, his narrow escape from the violence of an incensed populace, calling for vengeance, and his death in the tower, hastened by his intemperance, are all in entire accordance with his insolence, barbarity and vulgar prostitution of justice, while on the bench. Two instances, indeed, are recorded, in which Jeffries exhibited something approaching to kindness and generosity. One of these was in favor of the celebrated divine, Philip Henry, who had aided him in his studies, while at school. But beyond this, and his natural abilities, which none denied, but all saw he abused, he seems to have possessed no redeeming quality whatever.

We turn with pleasure to the personal memoir of Baxter, to which, however, we can only advert to mark one or two of those prominent passages, not to be omitted in any man's private history, and always interesting to others in proportion to his fame. Baxter remained for a long time single, having

* 'The apology, which has sometimes been offered for this unjust Judge, that his cruelties were perpetrated to please his royal master, will not,' says Mr. Orme, 'stand the test of a rigid examination. That King James was cold and cruel too, cannot be doubted; but the conduct of Jeffries on this and similar occasions, seems evidently to have arisen from his own nature, which was savage, vulgar, and unrelenting. He was a fit instrument for doing the work of a despotic government; but he was also admirably qualified for rendering that government an object of universal hatred and loathing. Nothing, probably, contributed more effectually to the downfall of James's authority, and the utter extinction of his influence in the country, than the brutal outrages of this man.'

† See *Biography of eminent British Lawyers*, by Henry Roscoe, Esq., son of the celebrated William Roscoe, published in *Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia*.

repeatedly expressed his determination to remain so; and even in his writings he had argued against the ‘conveniences of ministers’ marrying.’ Yet with the usual sacrifice in such cases of resolution to inclination, and with the usual ingenuity, always pardonable but sometimes ludicrous, which finds some peculiar circumstances to excuse it, as soon as he found himself by the act of uniformity taken off from his public labors, he was comfortably married, at the age of forty-seven, to Miss Margaret Charlton, aged twenty-two. The good man, in relating at some length his happy experience in this enterprise, acknowledges ‘that it was a matter of much public talk and wonder, so that the King’s marriage,’ which happened about the same time, ‘was not more talked of.’ But he observes, with a gravity, which our readers from their deep respect will not fail also to maintain, ‘that the true opening of her case and mine, and the many strange occurrences, which brought it to pass, would take away the wonder of her friends and mine, that knew us, and the notice of it would much conduce to the understanding of some other passages of our lives; yet wise friends, by whom I am advised,’—and here we cannot but commend at once the prudence of the counsel and the wisdom that followed it,—‘think it better to omit such personal particularities, at least at this time.’ He could not, however, refrain from adding, that there ‘was much extraordinary both in her case and his own; that many stoppages intervened and long delays, till on Sept. 10, 1662, we were married by Mr. Samuel Clark, in the presence of Mr. Henry Ashurst and Mrs. Ash.’

The history intimates, that the attachment commenced on the part of the lady, who had been greatly instructed and edified by Mr. Baxter’s preaching; and who entertained such a sense of its usefulness to herself and others, that it was among the conditions to which she consented upon their marriage, ‘that she would expect none of the time, which his ministerial work would require.’ In this respect, Baxter was more favored than the celebrated Wesley, whose wife complained bitterly, that his frequent preaching and journeys made him an unsocial and absent husband. Notwithstanding the great disparity of their ages, Mrs. Baxter proved a most excellent wife; living with him more than twenty years in great harmony, and confessing a little before her death, ‘that she had expected more sourness and bitterness than she had ever experienced.’ Baxter had just reason to lament her, for to her exemplary piety and

charity, she added such profound deference to his character, filial acquiescence in his judgment, care of his clothes and exclusive care of his house, as make her an example,* which we commend to the imitation of the wives of ministers in every coming age and of all denominations.

Nor can it justly be omitted in Baxter's personal history, that he refused a Bishopric, that of Hereford, which, after the restoration and the failure of the conference at Savoy, was offered and even urged upon him by Lord Chancellor Hyde, the celebrated Earl of Clarendon. A similar proposal was made to his friends and colleagues in the conference, Reynolds and Calamy. Dr. Calamy hesitated long, and could scarcely prevail upon himself to refuse so flattering a dignity, but at length declined, fearing the calumny it might occasion. Reynolds accepted, and became bishop of Norwich. But Baxter himself at once and decidedly refused, with many acknowledgements, however, to the Lord Chancellor 'for his great favor and condescension,' and recommending to his attention some others, who, he thought, might conscientiously and worthily be promoted. The letter is quoted at length by Mr. Orne, 'as an admirable specimen of the simplicity, integrity, and disinterestedness of Baxter's mind.'

And here we may observe, in passing, that there is nothing in which the fairness of the writer of these memoirs is more conspicuous, than in his remarks upon the character and conduct of Lord Clarendon. This is especially to be commended, when we consider the contempt with which that great but unfor-

* We remember hearing a tradition, which it appears was totally unfounded, that Baxter was unhappy in his marriage; and that he had even sought out such a trial, for the discipline of his temper and the good of his soul. In the memoirs which he published of Mrs. B. after her death, he relates many interesting traits in her character; among others, an instance of her great presence of mind, on a particular occasion when he was preaching, and the people were suddenly frightened by the cracking of the main beam in the gallery. Amidst the great consternation, after the first alarm was given, 'Mrs. Baxter,' says her husband, 'went immediately down stairs, and accosting the first person she met, asked him what was his profession? He said, a carpenter. 'Can you suddenly put a prop under the middle of this beam?' said she. The man dwelt close by, had a great prop ready, suddenly put it under, while the congregation above knew nothing of it, but had its fears increased by the man's knocking.' Surely in such a woman, 'the heart of her husband may safely trust. She will do him good and not evil all the days of her life.'

fortunate statesman and high-toned churchman was accustomed to treat Presbyterians and all dissenting ministers. He lost no opportunity, either by his words or his measures, of showing them his perfect hatred. He speaks of them scornfully, as ignorant and self-willed, even wanting in good judgment, and 'taking the worst measures of human affairs that he ever knew of any class of men, that had learned to read and write.' And he expressly numbers it among the infelicities and disorders of the times of the Commonwealth, that in the prevalent zeal for a false religion, the daughters of some noble families condescended to marry Presbyterian ministers, and 'to contract other such low alliances.'

After his release from the King's Bench in 1686, upon being required to give sureties for his good behavior, Baxter removed to his house in London, and continued for nearly five years to assist his faithful friend Sylvester, who afterwards became his biographer, in his pulpit labors. In 1691, his increasing infirmities confined him to his house and chamber, and finally put an end to his active and zealous life before the close of that year. He was greatly honored and lamented at his death. The spirit of party had subsided. The political and religious dissensions, in which his ardent mind and scrupulous conscience had disposed him to take so prominent a part, were in a great measure composed by the 'glorious Revolution;' the memory of his faithful labors and of his holy living was added to sympathy in his sufferings for a righteous cause, so that none who knew him refused the homage of their respect. His funeral was attended by an immense concourse of mourners of different ranks and denominations, eager to testify their veneration for an aged servant of God, who amidst numberless temptations and dangers had maintained his integrity, and 'of whom,' concludes his biographer, 'it might be said with equal truth as of the intrepid Reformer of the North, John Knox, "Here lies one, who never feared the face of man."'

The most instructive, and for that reason the most interesting work of Baxter, remains to be noticed. We refer to his review of his own life and opinions, after his long and busy career. In no account of Baxter, should this remarkable production be overlooked. It was written towards the conclusion of his life. It marks the candor and integrity of his spirit; the impartiality and accuracy, with which he had studied himself; and presents a faithful history of the gradual and successive changes of his

own mind. It would, therefore, be unjust to present it in any other than his own words. This has been done by both his biographers, and parts of it have often been quoted. We shall only therefore at present refer to it, and commend it to our readers, as a legacy of wisdom and matured experience. It is full of instruction for the young and for the old.

Those of our readers, whose want of opportunity or inclination may prevent their consulting the folios of Baxter, may find an abridgment of this excellent work, as also of the most valuable of his practical treatises, in these volumes of Orme. They will see for themselves how impartial and discriminating was Baxter's judgment, and how kind his feelings, at an age, when it is not uncommon to find them impaired. They will see how time and experience, advancing knowledge and observation of affairs, had taught him to be less confident in himself, and less distrustful of others; to attach less value to fervor of profession, and more to an humble, modest, and sanctified life; not to expect too much from great and splendid enterprises in religion; and to believe that its noblest influences are in privacy, self-denial and charity. 'I am more deeply afflicted,' says he, 'for the disagreements among Christians, than I was when I was a younger Christian, and am more deeply sensible of the sinfulness of those, especially of pastors of churches, who cause such divisions.' 'I am more apprehensive of the sin and mischief of using men cruelly in matters of religion, and of pretending men's good and the order of the church, for acts of inhumanity or uncharitableness. Such know not their own infirmity, nor yet the nature of pastoral government, which ought to be by love; nor do they know the way to win a soul, or to maintain the church's peace.' 'I do not lay too great a stress upon the external modes and forms of worship, as many young professors do; and if I were among the Greeks, the Lutherans, the Independents, yea, the Anabaptists, owning no heresy nor setting themselves against charity and peace, I would hold occasional communion with them as christians.' 'I am not so narrow in my special love as heretofore; and am not for narrowing the church more than Christ himself allowed, nor for robbing him of any of his flock. I am much more apprehensive of the odiousness and danger of the sin of pride, especially in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical. I think, that so far as any man is proud, he is kin to the devil, and utterly a stranger to God and to himself.'

With equal ingenuousness he adverts to the undeniable infirmity of his own temper, which old age had not wholly subdued. He confesses it with a touching simplicity ; and declares, that though God may have forgiven him, he cannot forgive himself for the rash words and deeds, by which he had seemed injurious, or less tender and kind than he should have been to his near and dear relations. 'For when such are dead,' adds he, 'though we never differed in point of interest, or any other matter, every sour, or cross, or provoking word, which I gave them, maketh me almost irreconcilable to myself ; and tells me how repentance brought some of old to pray to the dead, whom they had wronged, to forgive them in the hurry of their passion.'

These are among the changes, which Baxter describes, as having gradually taken place in his religious feelings and opinions. They are more honorable to him than all the glory of his genius, his learning or his eloquence ; and he has given in them the most beautiful illustration of one of his own fine sayings, 'That as fruit grows mellow in ripening for the taste, so old age grows kinder as it ripens for Heaven.'

ART. IV.—*Hodgson's Memoirs on the Berber Language.*

1. *Grammatical Sketch and Specimens of the Berber Language, preceded by Four Letters on Berber Etymologies, addressed to the President of the American Philosophical Society.* Read Oct. 2, 1829. Published in the Transactions of the Society.
2. *Notes of a Journey into the Interior of North Africa, by Hadji Ebn-ed-Din El-Eghwaati.* Translated by W. B. HODGSON, Esq., late American Consul at Algiers, and a Foreign Member of the British Royal Asiatic Society. London. 1830.

These publications exhibit very satisfactory evidences of the zeal and industry with which Mr. Hodgson employed the opportunities afforded him by his residence at the Consulate at Algiers, for the purpose of extending his own knowledge of foreign languages, and increasing the general stock of philosophical learning. The want of a competent oriental interpreter had been sensibly felt at the Department of State on several